

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 419

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9073

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: ANALYSIS OF EASTERN STATEMENTS

BEGIN SUMMARY: ON NOVEMBER 1 THE AD HOC GROUP
INSTRUCTED OFFICERS OF THE US, UK, CANADIAN AND FRG
DELEGATIONS TO PREPARE A JOINT DRAFT ASSESSMENT OF
THE EASTERN OPENING STATEMENTS. THE AD HOC GROUP
REVIEWED THE PAPER ON NOVEMBER2, AND WILL USE IT AS
AN ATTACHMENT TO THE WEEKLY CHAIRMAN'S REPORT TO THE
NAC. TEXT AS APPROVED BY THE AD HOC GROUP FOLLOWS.
END SUMMARY.

BEGIN TEXT:

WARSAW PACT OPENING STATEMENTS

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PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

THE TONE OF THE EASTERN STATEMENTS IS SERIOUS AND REASONABLY POSITIVE; THERE IS A NOTABLE ABSENCE OF POLEMICAL STATEMENTS. MOST CONTAIN REFERENCES TO THE NEED FOR A "CONSTRUCTIVE" OR "BUSINESSLIKE" APPROACH TO THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AN EXPECTATION OF CONCRETE RESULTS. AT THE SAME TIME THE EASTERN STATEMENTS REVEAL VIEWS ON A NUMBER OF POINTS WHICH ARE AT ODDS WITH THE WESTERN POSITIONS AND THUS INDICATE SOME OF THE TOPICS WHICH MAY BECOME DIFFICULT ISSUES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

1. GENERAL OBJECTIVES

ALLIED POSITION: THE ALLIES HAVE DEFINED THEIR OBJECTIVES IN TERMS OF A MORE STABLE MILITARY BALANCE AT LOWER LEVELS OF FORCES WITH UNDIMINISHED SECURITY. THIS REQUIRES OFF-SETTING EXISTING DISPARITIES.

EASTERN POSITION: MOST EASTERN OPENING STATEMENTS CITED AS A MAJOR GOAL THE SUPPLEMENTING OF POLITICAL DETENTE ON THE CONTINENT BY MEASURES OF MILITARY DETENTE, AND REFERRED TO PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AS BASIC POLICY OBJECTIVES.

THE USSR, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND AND ROMANIA REFERRED TO THE UNDIMINISHED SECURITY CRITERION. THE GDR USED THE TERM EQUAL SECURITY ONLY. ONLY HUNGARY EXPLICITLY ACKNOWLEDGED THE IMPORTANT CONCEPT AGREED IN THE JUNE 28 COMMUNIQUE OF "CONTRIBUTING TO A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP" AS THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

THE EASTERN APPROACH THUS APPEARS TO BE BASED UPON A VIEW OF THE EXISTING CORRELATION OF FORCES AS ONE WHICH SHOULD BE PRESERVED, ALBEIT AT A LOWER LEVEL, RATHER THAN ALTERED. THE SOVIET APPROACH APPARENTLY IS THAT REDUCTIONS SHOULD PRESERVE THE EXISTING FORCE RELATIONSHIP AND THUS IT IMPLIES A VIEW OF THE PRESENT MILITARY RELATIONSHIP AS ONE OF APPROXIMATE EQUALITY RATHER THAN DISPARITY. THE GDR PROPOSES PRESERVING THE HISTORICALLY DEVELOPED EXISTING CORRELATION OF MILITARY FORCES AT A LOWER LEVEL.

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AS TO BROADER IMPLICATIONS, SEVERAL EASTERN EUROPEANS SPEAK OF GENERAL CONCEPTS FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY; HUNGARY REFERS TO THE CREATION OF "INSTITUTIONALIZED SECURITY" IN EUROPE WHILE ROMANIA MENTIONS A "DURABLE SYSTEM OF SECURITY AND COOPERATION." ALMOST ALL EASTERN STATEMENTS REFER TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CSCE.

2. ASSOCIATED MEASURES

ALLIED POSITION: AS AGREED IN THE 28 JUNE COMMUNIQUE, NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO BE ABOUT MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE. IN ORDER TO EMPHASIZE THE INTRINSIC IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO ASSOCIATED MEASURES, ALLIED OPENING STATEMENTS USED THE FULL AGREED TITLE FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT MOST ALSO REFERRED TO "MBFR".

EASTERN POSITION: MOST EASTERN STATEMENTS EMPHASIZED REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND GENERALLY STUDIOUSLY AVOIDED MENTION OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES. THE LATTER WERE MENTIONED ONLY ONCE BY THE GDR AND ONCE BY THE USSR, AS AN AGREED SUBJECT FOR NEGOTIATIONS AT THE END OF THEIR RESPECTIVE STATEMENTS. ROMANIA CONSISTENTLY USED THE FULL TITLE OF THE CONFERENCE.

3. AREA

ALLIED POSITION: THE ALLIED OPENING STATEMENTS REFERRED TO CENTRAL EUROPE AS THE REDUCTION AREA WITHOUT DEFINING IT FURTHER.

EASTERN POSITION: THE SOVIET UNION, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE GDR AND POLAND USED DIFFERENT FORMULATIONS TO ARGUE THE PROPOSITION THAT THE DEFINITION OF THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS HAD ESTABLISHED AN AGREED REDUCTION AREA, I.E. EXCLUDING HUNGARY. THE HUNGARIAN STATEMENT FOR ITS PART REFERRED TO HUNGARY AS A PARTICIPANT WITH SPECIAL STATUS, WITHOUT ELABORATION. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE GDR DID NOT SPECIFY CENTRAL EUROPE WHEN IT REFERRED TO "ASSOCIATED MEASURES" (SEE SECTION 2); IT IS NOT YET POSSIBLE TO ASSESS WHETHER THIS IS A SIGNIFICANT OMISSION, SINCE THE RUSSIANS USE THE FULL TITLE.

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4. FORCES TO BE REDUCED

ALLIED POSITION: HAVING AGREED THAT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD ADDRESS REDUCTIONS OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, THE ALLIES HAVE FOCUSED ON CONVENTIONAL GROUND FORCES. INITIAL REDUCTION WOULD BE TAKEN IN US/SOVIET FORCES.

EASTERN POSITION: THE SOVIET STATEMENT QUOTED BREZHNEV'S 26 OCTOBER SPEECH AND THUS PROPOSED REDUCTION OF BOTH FOREIGN AND NATIONAL, LAND AND AIR FORCES WITH REDUCTION ALSO APPLYING TO UNITS EQUIPPED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE GDR STATEMENT SUGGESTED THAT THE REDUCTIONS SHOULD COMPREHEND NATIONAL AND FOREIGN FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, INCLUDING NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THEIR DELIVERY SYSTEMS. THE DELIVERY SYSTEMS WOULD PRESUMABLY INCLUDE AIRCRAFT, BUT NONE OF THE NON-SOVIET

STATEMENTS SPOKE OF AIR FORCES AS SUCH.

THE POLISH STATMENT STIPULATED THAT REDUCTIONS WOULD HAVE TO COMPRISE BOTH NATIONAL AND FOREIGN "TROOPS" (INSTEAD OF "FORCES", THOUGH THIS MAY NOT IMPLY A SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE) AS WELL AS ARMAMENTS, INCLUDING "THE MOST DEVASTATING WEAPON SYSTEMS." ROMANIA MENTIONED, ILLUSTRATIVELY, THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES, THUS SUGGESTING A DIFFERENCE WITH THE OTHER PACT MEMBERS WHO EMPHASIZED BOTH FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES.

5. METHOD OF REDUCTION

ALLIED POSITION: THE ALLIES HAVE PROPOSED AS THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE, BRINGING ABOUT PARITY IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING FOR GROUND FORCES OF EACH SIDE IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

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AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 9073

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EASTERN POSITION: ONLY THE USSR AND THE GDR EXPOUNDED ON

THE FORM AND METHOD OF REDUCTIONS. BOTH DREW UPON BREZHNEV'S SPEECH TO SAY THAT THE METHOD OF REDUCTION -- WHETHER IT BE AN EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTION OR BY AN EQUAL QUANTITY-- REMAINS TO BE SETTLED. THIS WAS IN CONTEXT OF THEIR STATEMENTS CONCERNING REDUCTION OF BOTH FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES, INDICATING THAT SUCH REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE APPLIED ACROSS THE BOARD, AND SHOULD THEREFORE BE READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH THEIR ASSERTION OF A NEED TO PRESERVE THE EXISTING RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES AT LOWER LEVEL IN EUROPE.

6. PHASING

ALLIED POSITION: THE ALLIES HAVE PROPOSED A PHASED APPROACH BEGINNING WITH US/SOVIET REDUCTIONS.

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EASTERN POSITION: BREZHNEV'S PLANS FOR REDUCTION OF FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES WOULD APPEAR TO REFER TO A SINGLE PHASE, BUT THIS WAS NOWHERE MADE EXPLICIT. THE EASTERN STATEMENTS REFER SOMETIMES TO AN AGREEMENT AND SOMETIMES TO AGREEMENTS. THE ROMANIAN STATEMENT BY CONTRAST SUGGESTS THAT THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE ONLY ONE STEP IN A SERIES OF MEASURES FOR PEACE IN EUROPE.

7. TIMING

ALLIED POSITION: ALLIED OPENING STATEMENTS MAKE THE POINT THAT WE ARE NOT SETTING ANY ARTIFICIAL DEADLINES, AND DO NOT MENTION DATES.

EASTERN POSITION: BREZHNEV IN THE SPEECH QUOTED IN THE SOVIET STATEMENT SAID THAT IN THE "VERY NEAR FUTURE" IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO CONCLUDE A CONCRETE AGREEMENT, AND HE DECLARED THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BE READY FOR "ACTUAL STEPS" (PRESUMABLY IMPLEMENTATION) AS EARLY AS 1975. NONE OF THE OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN STATEMENTS ATTEMPTED TO PREDICT A DATE.

8. PARTICIPATION AND METHODS OF WORK

ALLIED POSITION: THE ALLIES STAND BY THE PARTICIPATION ARRANGEMENTS AGREED IN THE EXPLORATORY TALKS.

EASTERN POSITION: ALL EASTERN STATEMENTS WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE BULGARIAN SPOKE WITH VARYING DEGREES OF EMPHASIS OF THE POSSIBILITY OF INVITING OTHER INTERESTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO PARTICIPATE. CZECHOSLOVAKIA SUGGESTED HAVING THEM AS "OBSERVERS" AND OTHERS SPOKE OF FINDING "APPROPRIATE" ARRANGEMENTS. THE SOVIET DELEGATION, FROM

ITS CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS, DOES NOT APPEAR TO INTEND TO PRESS THIS POINT. BY CONTRAST, THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION HAS EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS SUBJECT AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO RETURN TO IT.

THE ONLY EASTERN STATEMENTS TO REFER TO METHODS OF WORK WERE THOSE OF BULGARIA WHICH EMPHASIZED THE VALUE OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL CONSULTATIONS, AND ROMANIA WHICH DEMANDED CONFIDENTIAL

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PARTICIPATION IN ALL WORKING GROUPS OR OTHER BODIES WHICH MAY BE ESTABLISHED, AND THE RIGHT OF ANY PARTICIPATING DELEGATION TO CALL A PLENARY.

9. ROMANIAN POSITION

THE PRINCIPAL POINTS WHICH DIFFER FROM THOSE MADE BY OTHER WARSAW PACK DELEGATIONS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

(A) THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MEASURES OF MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF EUROPEAN SECURITY WITH A POSSIBLE IMPLICATION OF A LINK WITH CSCE:

(B) THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT PRECLUDE, BUT SHOULD ACCELERATE, THE IMPLEMENTATION OF "MEASURES OF MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AND DISARMAMENT ON THE SCALE OF THE ENTIRE CONTINENT". MOREOVER, THEY "SHOULD NOT PRECLUDE THE INITIATION OF NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING MILITARY ASPECTS IN THE WHOLE OF EUROPE OR IN OTHER ZONES OF EUROPE":

(C) WE SHOULD AIM FROM THE BEGINNING AT THE "WITHDRAWAL WITHIN THEIR NATIONAL BORDERS OF FOREIGN TROOPS STATIONED IN THE TERRITORY OF OTHER STATES":

(D) THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE A "BLOC-TO-BLOC DIALOGUE":

(E) ROMANIA WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE NEGOTIATIONS "ON THE BASIS OF FULL EQUALITY": PARTICIPATION IN ALL CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES "SHOULD BE GUARANTEED TO EACH DELEGATION" AND "THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION INTENDS TO EXERCISE ITS RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES (GROUPS OR WORKING BODIES)".

END TEXT.HUMES

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